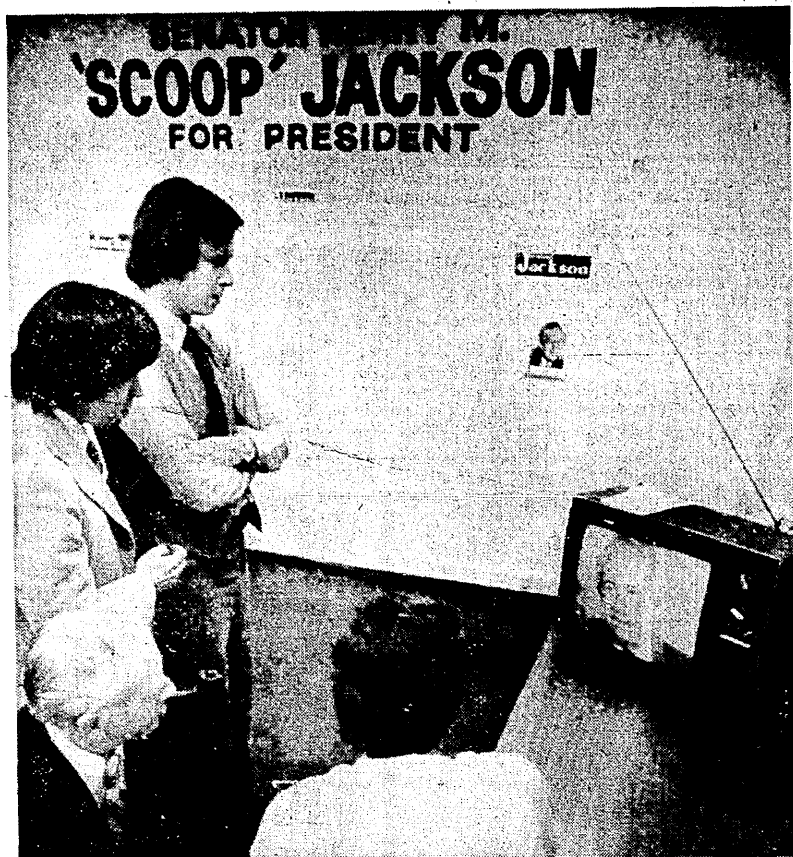


Organization Scoops up Massachusetts



Supporters of Senator Henry M. Jackson gathered at Jackson headquarters in downtown Seattle last night to watch Jackson's Massachusetts victory speech. After the speech the workers returned to counting Jackson's Washington delegate strength as the state-wide precinct-caucus vote was tallied. — A.P. photo by Barry Sweet.

By RICHARD W. LARSEN
Times Political Writer

BOSTON — How did Scoop Jackson win Massachusetts?
That's a question which may be mullered now by pundits who seemed to discount his chances during the campaign, even when last week Jackson was predicting he'd finish first.

But Jackson did win it, with an old-fashioned Boston Democratic political recipe — organization, money, issues and more organization.

Massachusetts was the Jackson camp's No. 1 target. Well-financed, they started "putting Massachusetts together" months ago. Jackson's coordinators, Bob Keepe, Bill Ezekiel, Frank Conley and others fashioned a Jackson organization well-connected where the political action is — labor, the Irish neighborhoods, senior citizens, the fishing industry on the coast, neighborhood leaders, town councilors, other people, other forces.

UNION LEADERS of Jackson for President committee, in thousands of letters to union members, said every other Democrat in yesterday's election had at least some flaw, in the eyes of organized labor.
"However," said the letter, "there is one candidate who stands head and shoulders above the rest of the

pack — Senator Henry M. Jackson. None can match his consistent and enduring pro-labor performance."
Jackson toured senior-citizen homes — as did the other candidates — talking about the need for better housing, better health care for the elderly.

And almost everywhere, he said: "Jobs, jobs, jobs. That's what the country needs."

Of course other candidates were saying the same thing.

But Jackson's organization was translating his campaigning into votes.

JACKSON'S combined TV and newspaper advertising was as heavy — or heavier — than any other candidate's.

At least 150,000 telephone calls were made selectively by Jacksonites to Democrats in key districts. If they were "leaning" to Jackson, there was a follow-up call and a mailing of literature.

Long sleeping as a political force in Massachusetts, organized labor — or at least a few unions such as the building trades and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers — produced workers for Jackson.

Obviously some of George Wallace's blue-collar support swung to Jackson. The Jewish vote, as expected, went Jackson, although not so heavily as expected. Jackson

even showed surprising strength in some white-collar liberal zones. And he captured "undecided" who might have gone to Carter.

Only in the final days before the election did a few people in the news media and in other campaign camps sense a Jackson surge.

AS A NASTY snowstorm worsened through the day yesterday, an estimated 300 Jackson vehicles were being used to get voters to polling places around the state. No other candidate came close to that big an operation.

At 5:20 p. m., a worker in Jimmy Carter's headquarters was talking about the apparent strength of the Jackson organization. He'd had calls about what was happening. "They (the Jackson people) have even rented cars and they're paying drivers," he said.

Then, looking out the window at the storm, he added: "I'll bet they even hired the snow."

At 5:40 p. m., over at Jackson headquarters, there was a moment of mild panic. "We're having problems with drivers in Brookline," someone said. "They say it's too icy to drive."

Bill Ezekiel, the campaign manager, cursed, then snapped, "Well, let's get some more drivers over there."

Jackson's was an organization both wide and deep.

Cheers, lights, cameras all focus on Jackson



by
Richard
W. Larsen
Times political writer

BOSTON — It was the most exquisite moment for a politician. Suddenly everyone knew he had won. Friends around him could hardly swallow their "whoopses." And now everyone was clamoring for him.

And moments ahead — that delicious experience of walking into the ballroom, jammed with hundreds of cheering people, the band playing, the balloons bobbing, to deliver the victory speech into the lights and network cameras.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, with a convoy of Secret Service agents and excited aides, savored that moment last night, as he hurried along a third-floor hallway of the Copley Plaza Hotel.

IT WAS 9:40 p.m. He was a winner. He'd just granted a private interview to a TV network. There would be demands for others. "How you feeling?" he was asked.

"OK," he grinned. "I'm not nervous, I'm relaxed. Here, feel my hand, it's not even damp." (It wasn't.) "That's my viking stock."

Ambling along in the cluster of people around the senator was Brian Corcoran, Jackson's press secretary. "This is sure better than losing," he said triumphantly.

He and some of the others had been along in some wretched nights of dismal defeat four years ago — in Florida, Wisconsin and Ohio — nights when the clamor and attention was for another candidate.

Somehow a couple of building-trades union men appeared in the jammed hallways. "We worked for you all day," said one to Jackson. "I know; you guys are great," said Jackson, shaking hands.

THEN A FEW of the Jackson crowd — the inner circle of advisers — slipped into a hotel room to talk over the victory speech. A Time photographer was allowed in.

Slumping into a striped chair, Jackson said: "One person I want to call is Stan Golub." Golub, of Seattle, is a long-time friend.

But the call wasn't made then. Corcoran, Sterling Munro, Hershey Gold, Elliott Abrams, Jerry Hoeck and others were chattering about what should be in the victory speech.

"I think you have to go downstairs before 10:30," someone said. "Remember the 11 o'clock news on TV."

"Yeah, between 10:30 and 10:45," said Jackson. "They're going to haul me downstairs before we make the phone calls," he murmured in an aside.

Abrams offered a draft of a speech he'd written. It was on a yellow legal pad. Jackson started to read: "We were first here tonight. Five weeks from tonight, on April 6, when those results are in, we'll be first again..."

THERE WAS MORE animated debate about what should be in the speech. Some disliked that opener.

Dick Powers, of Seattle, Jack-

son's communications adviser, and some others, watched from the far side of the room with bemusement. It was decided the speech wouldn't be given from a text — just from notes.

"OK, let's see here," said Jackson. He began writing his own speech notes on the yellow pad. Then he rose and headed toward the bathroom. "I've got to spray my throat."

Returning toward the chair, Jackson was stopped by the phone's ringing. It was the governor of Massachusetts offering congratulations.

Then it was 10:35 and the crowd of reporters and cameramen outside was bigger, more insistent. Cronkite had asked for Jackson to stop over at another hotel for an interview. And there was that huge crowd downstairs at the victory party.

In the flurry of everyone's departure from the room, Jackson got to the phone and made the call to his friend.

ARRIVING DOWNSTAIRS, at last, wading into the brilliant lights, the sea of people, the pandemonium of the ballroom, Jackson received his cheers. Onstage, he waved and began his speech: "Massachusetts was right in 1972 when it voted Democratic. And it was right tonight."

There was an on-cue roar from the crowd. He went on with his speech.

That victory-speech conference with his advisers was forgotten. In his moment of joy, Jackson just winged it.

'The big question ... the answer is Ford'

By DON HANNULA

Up front was the President's man in King County, but he made no pitch for delegate support for Gerald Ford.

Christopher T. Bayley, King County prosecutor and county chairman for President Ford's campaign, was acting in a new and different role.

Last night he was acting precinct-committee chairman for one of the county's 2,408 Republican precincts. Before the night was over, he was made permanent chairman.

A CASUAL Bayley, in sweater and open collar, stood in front of a

glowing fireplace in his living room, joined by his wife and 15 of his neighbors.

It was grass-roots politics in the Washington Park area, an area of fine old homes snuggled between Broadmoor and the Seattle Tennis Club.

Cadillac country. But when the evening was over, without any urging from Bayley, Republican Precinct 37-4 cast its lot with a Ford.

Methodically, answering questions along the way, Bayley ran through the 13 questions prepared by the King County Republican Committee, eliciting responses to help shape the party's platform.

Finally, he calmly told the 10 men, all but one attired in shirts and ties, and six women seated before him:

"And now the big question..." It was time for them to say which candidate they wanted to get the Republican nomination.

It was 13 for Ford, 2 for former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, and 1 for Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

Bayley, himself, then was elected one of the precincts' two delegates to the upcoming legislative-district caucus. Two more for Ford.

IT WAS A QUIET affair, devoid of debate, but machine-like smooth, ending in an hour and a half.

It was a scene repeated across the city — in different forms, but all with the same purpose. Away from the tennis club, tennis shoes were in vogue at some caucuses. There was more than one raucous caucus, where debate dragged on.

Those at the caucus in Bayley's home spoke on such issues as crime and prisons, inflation, taxes, national defense, mandatory bussing to achieve racial balance, public-employee strikes, school funding and accountability.

In the prosecutor's home, they favored the mini-prison concept, 12 to 1, but split when asked if they felt judges and parole boards are too lenient (6 votes), too strict (0) or about right (6).

All 16 opposed "forced bussing." Eight felt the percentage of the budget spent on national defense should be higher, 6 about the same and 2 lower.

On school funding, none wanted new taxes as a solution, 7 felt there should be a re-ordering of state-spending priorities and 8 felt local school districts should re-orient spending priorities.

And so it went, with one possible surprise — King County Executive John Spellman got 7 votes to Gov. Dan Evans' 6 as the caucus' preferred candidate for governor among Republicans. King County Assessor Harley Hoppe got one vote.

ON GUBERNATORIAL preference, Evans did better in his own precinct — 43 to 20 in Laurelhurst. He got 27 votes to Spellman's 5. The rest of the 50 votes were scattered.

In Evan's precinct, President Ford was preferred 37-to-4 over Reagan. Out in the North End at the caucus of Democratic Precinct 46-54 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lou DuCharme, 3808 N.E. 87th St., the uncommitteds equaled the committed. Jackson got 4 votes, former Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris got 3 and 7 were uncommitted. So 2 uncommitted delegates were elected and that caused some grumbling.

Also brought up there was the question why we don't shuck the complicated precinct-caucus system — which drew only 2.5 per cent of the voters in its best year — and go to the presidential primary.

One woman suggested the size of a candidate's treasury — enabling him to buy newspaper ads and radio and television time — would have more influence in a state primary.

A man agreed that the precinct caucus system — as cumbersome as it may be — provided an opportunity for people participation. "This is real democracy in action," he said.

Mink Road precinct picks 2 for Reagan

By MIKE WYNE

In an outlying bit of suburbia, past Woodinville and even Cottage Lake, eight neighbors got together last night at the home of Bill Damm, their Republican precinct committeeman, to talk and vote.

The results were strongly pro-Ronald Reagan and his philosophy, an appropriate outcome for the home precinct of Warren McPherson, state coordinator for the Reagan campaign.

THE CAUCUS OF three women and five men elected two Reagan delegates to the district and county conventions from the Mink Road precinct, near 194th Avenue Northeast and Northeast 159th Street.

But unlike some previous Republican battles between conservatives and their more-liberal opponents in the past, the caucus carefully avoided a pitched battle.

"Since we have a choice, we'll support Reagan," Damm said. "That doesn't mean there's anything wrong with Ford."

Damm drew nodding agreement from the group as he promised to support Ford if Reagan failed to be nominated.

The vote ran Reagan 4, Ford 2, and 1 abstention (McPherson had

left to begin receiving calls in his home about other caucus results).

The caucus also voted for governor with 5 votes for Harley Hoppe, 1 for Dan Evans and 1 for Representative Ken Eikenberry.

Like many caucuses, the participants grumbled about the phrasing of the King County Republican Central Committee caucus questionnaire used to formulate a party platform.

AFTER VOTING solidly in favor of increasing the certainty of punishment for criminals and for a balanced budget with lower government spending, and against a state income tax, the caucus refused to answer a question on shifting responsibilities back to the state because they lacked background on the question.

(The question entailed returning responsibilities in the areas of local law enforcement, health programs, aid to public education and welfare payments without detailing present sources of funding for these programs.)

Shortly before 10 p.m., participants headed a request for donations to fund the party's efforts to set up caucuses, contributed \$1 each and headed for home, shivering slightly in the freezing night air.

Jackson receives more federal campaign funding

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — The Federal Election Commission today approved an additional payment of almost \$500,000 in public matching funds to the campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson, who won yesterday's Massachusetts Democratic presidential primary.

The commission certified a \$495,071 payment to Jackson, bringing his total federal matching funds to \$1.418 million — more than any other Democrat except Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

At a meeting today, the commission also awarded another \$252,007 to Wallace, giving him a total \$2.446 million in public matching funds — more than any other candidate of

either party.
It approved an additional \$175,375 to Ronald Reagan, former California governor who is seeking the Republican nomination. Reagan's total matching funds reached \$1.427 million, compared to President Ford's \$1.027 million.

Beside Jackson and Wallace, other Democratic-primary candidates who received further matching funds, and the amounts they will receive, were:

Fred Harris, \$60,350; Senator Birch Bayh, \$47,998; Jimmy Carter, \$44,683; Representative Morris K. Udall, \$40,958; Sargent Shriver, \$22,730, and Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, \$1,957.

His neighbors wouldn't think of voting for someone else

By JOHN ARTHUR WILSON
Times Staff Reporter

EVERETT — Last night, John F. Wilson had about 20 people over to his home to sip coffee, nibble doughnuts and talk politics.

And so the evening wore on, they got around to talking about one of their neighbors — Senator Henry Martin Jackson.

Wilson, a Democratic precinct committeeman here, lives across the street from Jackson's stately home on Grand Avenue overlooking the waterfront.

AND LAST night, Scoop's neighbors wanted to make something clear: He was their man for the White House. With hardly a whisper of dissent, the 20 people at the caucus declared their support for Jackson.

Two young people listed themselves as "uncommitted," one saying she couldn't back Jackson because he supported the Vietnam war.

But that was the lone objection: "I like him 'cause he's for the U.S.," said Ethel Crocker. "I don't think he would pussyfoot with any of those foreign countries."

People in this upper middle-class neighborhood are tired of détente, one-sided deals with the Russians and the United States being battered around the United Nations by small developing nations.

There is no doubt in their minds that Scoop is the man who can turn things around.

Robert Smith proudly noted the endorsement of Jackson by tough-talking Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former ambassador to the U.N.

"He (Jackson) wants to keep our defenses up," added Ted Warnock, a young man with longish dark hair.

John Schrier said he liked Jackson's attitude towards Russia. Another Jackson supporter said she backed Washington's junior senator because he "wouldn't let the Russians push us around."

INvariably, Jackson's neighbors mentioned his prowess in foreign affairs and, behind their comments, his rebuffing of Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy.

For the most part, Jackson's neighbors are conservative Democrats — the middle-aged, the white-collar worker, the professional, the businessman.

Beyond simply wanting Jackson in the presidency, they feel Scoop possesses certain qualities America needs right now.

"He's the only person who could lead the country and bring it what the country needs," said Schrier.

After Watergate and the scandal-ridden Nixon Administration, one woman said Jackson would return honesty and integrity to federal government.

"Honesty," that most-valued quality voters attach to candidates, floated around Wilson's poshly appointed living room frequently last night. One man recalled knowing Jackson since the senator was in high school and said honesty had been a hallmark of Scoop's political career.

Smith described him as a "honest, hard-working man." Another woman praised Jackson's "sincerity."

WILSON, A TALL, distinguished-looking lawyer with swept-back snow-white hair, said Jackson was "the best public servant running for the nomination."

"He has served us," added Wilson, who was elected as a delegate to the legislative caucus, "and I

think he would serve the people of the United States."

"I don't feel I should consider anyone else, considering what he's done for our city," said City Councilman Carl Gibson. "Jackson will take care of his own home if he gets elected."

And few neighbors doubt that he'll get elected. When Wilson interrupted the caucus to announce Jackson's first-place showing in the Massachusetts primary, there was a brief sign of approval, quickly followed by a quiet assuredness. It was like silently saying, "We knew it all along."

The neighbors feel Scoop is ready for the White House. They note his long years on Capitol Hill, on the important Senate committees, the constant political "grooming" of Jackson. "He almost made it a few years ago," Betsy Warnock, Ted's mother, reminded everyone.

IT IS ALMOST taken for granted that the white colonial house at 1701 Grand Avenue will be the Western White House this time next year.

Few of these neighbors have considered a second choice if the Jackson campaign stumbles and falls flat as it did four years ago. There is a sprinkling of potential Hubert Humphrey supporters. In 1968, Wilson, one of the potential Humphrey backers, was the Minnesota senator's state chairman.

Surprisingly, several people mentioned former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, a Republican, as an alternative if Jackson didn't get the Democratic nomination this summer in New York City.

But maybe Irene Norris summed up the caucus' feeling best. "Why do you keep asking people for a second choice," she scolded a reporter. "There is no second choice."

Not in this caucus, at least.